133 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162 633 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is not one of the largest or richest of the lake plateaux of Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[31] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes.

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization.

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development.

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

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The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

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The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] སྤྱིན་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ།

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.